

AIR POUCH OCT 25 1955

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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

REVIEWED BY

FROM

AMEMBASSY, HELSINKI

TO

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

REF

Helsinki Despatches No. 167 of April 12, 1948, No. 205 of April 26, 1948, and No. 180 of September 26, 1955.

4	ACTION	DEPT.	RELEASE D. N. I. D.
For Dept.	EOR-S	R-7/R-2	DL-6
Use Only	REC'D	OTHER	EX-10
	10/29	CIA-7	OSD-4 Army-4 Navy-3 Air-3 USA-10

SUBJECT:

Comparison of Crucial Passages of President Paasikivi's Radio Talks of April 9, 1948, and September 22, 1955, on the Meaning of the Penno-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance

Because of the importance which attaches to President Paasikivi's public explanations to the Finnish nation in radio talks April 9, 1948, and September 22, 1955, of the nature of the obligations contained in the Penno-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance, the Embassy encloses in convenient form translations of pertinent passages of both speeches.

The striking feature of the President's explanations, both in 1948 and this year, lies in the assertion that both governments, the Finnish and the Soviet, must have recognized the existence of a threat of armed aggression against Finnish territory, or against the Soviet Union through Finland, for the obligation of consultation contained in Article II of the Treaty to become operative. This opinion that the existence of a threat of armed attack by Germany or an ally of Germany would have to be established by both parties to the treaty was also expressed with painstaking clarity by the Finnish Diet's Constitutional Committee in its 1948 report (enclosure to despatch No. 205 of April 20, 1948).

In both his talks, the President emphasized that the pact acknowledges Finland's desire to remain outside the disputes of the great powers. In the earlier talk he noted that the rights which had been granted to the Soviet Union in Porkkala and in respect to unhindered communications with Porkkala gave "a special character to Finland's neutrality". He remarked in his September 22 speech that the return of Porkkala was particularly important because Porkkala and the rights connected with it had "colored Finland's neutrality and Finland's entire international position".

The passages from Mr. Paasikivi's 1948 talk are taken from the enclosure to despatch No. 167 of April 12, 1948. The Embassy found it desirable to review and polish the translation of the related passages in the Finnish President's September 22, 1955 talk.

HFCunninghamJr:hj

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Consequently, the present translation (enclosure No. 2) supersedes corresponding paragraphs of the enclosure to our despatch No. 180 of September 26, 1955.

For the Charge d'Affaires, a.i.:

H. Francis Cunningham, Jr.

H. Francis Cunningham, Jr.
Counselor of Embassy

- all*
- encs: 1. Excerpts from translation of 1948 speech
2. Partial translation of 1955 speech

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Excerpts From Translation of President Paasikivi's Radio
Talk of April 9, 1948

(These excerpts have been copied from the full text transmitted as enclosure 1 to despatch No. 167 of April 12, 1948)

In the preamble there is expressed an important principle, namely that Finland wishes to remain outside the conflicting interests of the great powers - a principle unanimously approved by the Finnish people and one that most small nations try to follow. It has been said in the press that the agreement radically changes our international position because the approval of it means an abandonment of the principle of neutrality. On the other hand it is admitted that Finland in any case would act in the manner described in Article 1. It is difficult to understand how the publication of this fact such as it is would change our position. Although Finland must be regarded as having in principle the right to remain neutral during a war between other powers, it should be remembered that the rights granted to the Soviet Union in virtue of the Peace Treaty and referring to the base of Porkkala and to the right of free transit by all ways and means of communication between that base and the Soviet Union give a special character to Finland's neutrality, a character that cannot be well fitted into the manuals of international law. But as the last years have proved, these manuals are not always decisive; the decisive thing is actual life with all its shades that international law is obliged to follow to the best of its capacity.

The military obligations included in Articles 1 and 2 of the agreement briefly imply that if Finland or the Soviet Union through Finnish territory are attacked by Germany or an ally of Germany, we defend the integrity of our territory as far as our strength goes, and if we need help, we get it from the Soviet Union according to special agreement. In my opinion all this is self-evident and a consequence of the nature of the present conditions, and nobody should have anything to say against it. That is what would happen in the event of such a calamity that Finland should be attacked.

* * * * *

Article 2 of the agreement has roused much attention. The clause says that the contracting parties shall confer in case it is established that there is a threat of an armed attack as described in Article 1. The obligation to confer and consult each other is usual in international agreements. In the Rumanian, Hungarian, and Bulgarian agreements the obligation is extended to all important international questions referring to the interests of both countries. In our agreement the obligation to confer has been limited as much as possible: it comes in question when it is established that there is a threat of attack against Finnish territory. The word "established"

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means a mutual expression of will. The wording of Article 2 was thoroughly discussed here in Helsinki and the wording adopted is exactly the same as that included in the first instructions given to the delegation. It is hardly possible to find a wording that leaves no room for interpretation. If we are realistic, it is unimaginable that the Soviet Union would remain sitting with her hands crossed after it has been established that there is a threat of an attack against Finnish territory. It is natural that in such case the question of how to repel the attack is discussed.

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Partial Translation of President Paasikivi's
Radio Talk of September 22, 1955

The return of Porkkala is very important to us. The conditions regarding Porkkala constituted one of the most onerous stipulations of the 1944 Armistice. The rights guaranteed the Soviet Union, not only to the Porkkala base but also concerning free traffic along all routes and with all means of communication from that base to the Soviet Union, colored Finland's neutrality and Finland's entire international position.

* * * * *

It is noted in the friendship pact that Finnish foreign policy endeavors to keep us out of the disputes of the Great Powers. Paragraphs 1 and 2 of the pact, which concern Finland's attitude in case of war, have aroused misgivings. I explained these things in a radio talk in 1948. If our country, or the Soviet Union through our territory, suffers armed attack, we are responsible for defending the integrity of our territory to our utmost, and if we need help we shall receive it from the Soviet Union to the extent we agree upon. All that is obvious and arises from the nature of the circumstances. Nobody should have any objection to this. -- The obligation, stipulated in the treaty's second article, for consultation, after a threat of military attack against Finland's territory has been found to exist by both parties, also derives from prevailing circumstances and does not jeopardize our position.

I have gone through the minutes of the Diet for 1948 when the friendship pact was discussed and have thought over the points of view which were brought forward at that time. I have come to the conclusion that the wording of the treaty does not require any elucidation.

Furthermore, one must remember that Finland by the March peace of 1940 and in all peace treaties concluded thereafter has obligated itself not to conclude any alliances or participate in any coalitions which are directed against the Soviet Union. If it should really happen that any foreign power should attack the Soviet Union through Finland's territory and Finland should then stand aside with folded hands as an observer, that would in reality constitute taking the side of and favoring the aggressor, which would run counter to the spirit of the peace treaty. The contents of the first and second articles of the friendship pact are actually a development of a principle which is included in all of our peace treaties.

The Friendship pact of April 1948 has been in effect nearly eight years. During this time a lively "cold war" has gone on in the world for many years. In spite of that we have not had any

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inconvenience or annoyance from the pact--with the exception of certain conjectures which from time to time have appeared in the newspapers about dangers which because of the treaty were threatening us from the Soviet Union, conjectures which always proved to be mistaken. Our relations with the Soviet Union, which constitute the most important problem in our foreign policy, have improved year by year during the time that the friendship pact has been in force. I hope and believe that the treaties that have been signed, which are presented for the Diet's consideration and approval, will contribute to strengthening this happy development.

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FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH

FROM : Embassy MOSCOW

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DESP. NO.

TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON

November 9, 1955

REF.

DATE

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JFS

4V For Dept. Use Only	ACTION	DEPT.
	REC'D	OTHER
	11/14	01A-7 051A-10 Army-4 Navy-3 Air-3

SUBJECT:

Exchange of Ratifications Soviet-Finnish Treaty.

Following is the complete TASS report in Pravda October 29, 1955, datelined Helsinki October 28, on the exchange of Soviet-Finnish Pact ratifications.

"On October 28, 1955 in Helsinki, the Charge d'Affaires of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in Finland, S. T. LOGINOV, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Finnish Republic, J. VIROLAINEN, exchanged documents ratifying the protocol between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Finnish Republic extending the period of effectiveness of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid from April 6, 1948, and the Agreement between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Finnish Republic on the renunciation by the Soviet Union of the right to use the territory of Porkkala-Udd for a naval base and the withdrawal of Soviet armed forces from this territory, signed in Moscow September 19, 1955, ratified by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR October 11, 1955 and by the President of the Finnish Republic, October 7, 1955."

The following were present at the exchange of ratifications:

On the Finnish side: The Prime Minister of Finland, U. KEKONEN, and the Minister of Defense, E. SKOG, Acting Head of Chancery of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, O. VARTIOVAARA, the Chief of the Political Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, R. ENKEL, the Deputy Chief of the Protocol Section of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, O. SAIKKU, and the Secretary of the Press Bureau of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, V. O. ALKHOLM.

On the Soviet side: Counselor of Embassy of the USSR in Finland, M. G. KOTOV, the Military Attache of the USSR in Finland, Major General I. V. VINOGRADOV, the First Secretary of Embassy, S. S. NIKOLSKI, and the Acting Trade Representative of the USSR in Finland, N. P. MAKSIMOV.

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For the Charge d'Affaires, a.i.:

John C. Guthrie

John C. Guthrie
First Secretary of Embassy

CC: Amembassy HELSINKI

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